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Integration of Pancasila Ideology and Qur'anic Values of Justice and Unity among Islamic Student Cadres

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Abstract: The relationship between Islamic values and the national ideology of Pancasila has remained an important discourse in Indonesia, particularly in understanding how Islamic youth movements construct and negotiate the relationship between religious and civic identities. As one of the influential Islamic student organizations, the Islamic Student Association (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam,* or HMI) plays a strategic role in developing ideological frameworks that integrate Qur'anic values and national values through the Basic Struggle Values (*Nilai Dasar Perjuangan, or* NDP). This study aims to examine differences in perceptions between HMI cadres and non-member students regarding the relationship between Qur'anic values and Pancasila, and to identify challenges and potential strategies for strengthening ideological integration. This research employs an exploratory mixed-methods design involving 22 university students in Bangkalan, Madura. Quantitative data were analysed using simple linear regression, while qualitative data were examined through six-stage thematic analysis. The findings indicate that HMI membership does not significantly influence students' perceptions of the relationship between Qur'anic values and Pancasila ($p > 0.05$; $R^2 = 0.009–0.055$), while both HMI cadres and non-member students demonstrate a strong substantive understanding of this relationship, reflected in high mean scores ranging from 3.79 to 4.54. Qualitative findings reveal that participants perceive the Qur'an as a source of fundamental ethical values and Pancasila as a contextual framework for organizing social life within a pluralistic nation. The study also identifies several challenges, including limited ideological literacy among younger generations, external ideological influences, and the need for more contextual approaches to values education. This research contributes to Pancasila and Islamic studies by demonstrating that the integration of Qur'anic values and Pancasila is not primarily determined by organisational affiliation but by the internalisation of shared ethical principles through inclusive and contextual education.

Keywords: Pancasila; Qur'anic Values; Islamic Student Association; Ideological Integration; Islamic Youth Movement; Civic Identity.

1. Introduction

The relationship between Islam and the state has, since the very founding of the Indonesian nation, remained a focal point of intellectual and political debate. In this context, Islam has not only served as a source of identity and legitimacy for the state but also as a tool for struggle for opposition and reform movements, presenting challenges in balancing Islamic ideals, modernity, democracy, and human rights within the framework of the nation-state (Thielmann, 2001). As the country with the world's largest Muslim population and a democratic system, Indonesia has developed a unique model that is neither an Islamic state nor one that completely separates religion from the public sphere (Pratama & Irayanti, 2022). This phenomenon is often positioned as a "middle way" model between secularism and theocracy in contemporary Islamic political studies (Hefner, 2000).

Pancasila, as the state ideology with its five principles, serves as a meeting point capable of integrating religious values while preserving national diversity. The relationship between Pancasila and Islamic values demonstrates that religious principles can coexist with Pancasila within Indonesia's pluralistic national framework, particularly when both are oriented toward justice, peace, human dignity, and social harmony (Fathurrahman et al., 2024). As the primary source of teachings for Muslims, the Qur'an contains various normative principles relevant to state governance and public policy. In the international literature, the Qur'an is also understood as a source of social-political ethics that is contextual and adaptable to the changing times (Ramadan, 2005). Masyhuri explains that the political dimension in the Qur'an encompasses the obligation to maintain the unity of the ummah, the application of the principle of consultation (*shura*), and the enforcement of justice in the law (Masyhuri, 2022). These values have a strong connection to the principles of Pancasila, particularly the principle of just and civilized humanity, the unity of Indonesia, and social justice for all the people.

This study stems from a broader theoretical discourse on the relationship between religion and the state in Muslim-majority societies, particularly regarding the dichotomy between formalistic and substantive approaches in Islamic political thought (Kurdi, 2016). The dichotomy between formalistic and substantive approaches has been a central debate in modern Islamic political literature (Hallaq, 2012). The formalistic approach tends to emphasize the formalization of Islamic law within state structures, including the idea of establishing an Islamic state or the implementation of sharia as positive law. Conversely, the substantive approach places greater emphasis on the internalization of Islamic ethical values such as justice (*'adl*), consultation (*shura*), and the public interest (*maslahah*) within the system of governance without necessarily transforming the state into an Islamic state (Putera, 2024).

This substantive approach aligns with the philosophical foundations of Pancasila, which can accommodate religious values while maintaining the nation's pluralistic character. As articulated by (Latif, 2011), Pancasila can be understood as a "social contract" that provides space for religious communities to express their values within a framework of mutual respect and national unity. The first principle, "Belief in the One and Only God," explicitly affirms the importance of religion, yet employs an inclusive formulation for various faith traditions. This concept aligns with the theory of the social contract in modern political philosophy, which emphasizes consensus within a pluralistic society (Rawls, 1996).

In this regard, the Indonesian Muslim Students Association (*Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam*/HMI) holds a unique position within the dynamics of Indonesia's intellectual history. The role of Islamic student organizations in shaping the political identity of the younger generation has also been extensively studied in a global context (Bayat, 2020). Since its founding on February 5, 1947, in Yogyakarta, the organization has consistently sought to bridge the relationship between Islamic and national identities. To date, HMI has more than 150 branches spread across all provinces of Indonesia, with hundreds of thousands of active members from various universities. Its founders, including Lafran Pane, envisioned HMI as a platform capable of fostering Muslim intellectuals who not only adhere to Islamic teachings but also possess a strong commitment to the Indonesian nation-state (Sitompul, 2001).

In HMI's cadre development process, the Basic Struggle Values (NDP) play a crucial role as an ideological foundation. The NDP was explicitly formulated to integrate Islamic

values with Pancasila (Wahyuni, 2016). Through a lengthy process of organizational reflection, the NDP explains how Islamic principles derived from the Qur'an and Sunnah can serve as a basis for strengthening Indonesian nationalism, democracy, and social justice. HMI cadres acquire this understanding through a structured training process as part of organizational development and leadership training (Heryati & Rusdiana, 2018).

Nevertheless, empirical studies on the ideological perceptions of Muslim students remain relatively limited in the international literature (Nasr, 2009). Although HMI has produced many national figures who represent a synthesis of Islam and nationalism, systematic scientific evidence demonstrating that organizational membership influences members' perspectives on these issues remain scarce. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap by examining whether membership in HMI correlates with specific views regarding the relationship between the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila.

This study is designed to address two main focuses. *First,* how do HMI members and non-member students interpret the relationship between the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila, and whether there are consistent differences in perception between these two groups. *Second,* what challenges do HMI members face in integrating the values of the Qur'an with Pancasila in practice, and what solutions do they propose to address them. Given the exploratory nature of the research and the limited sample size, the quantitative analysis in this study is aimed at generating preliminary hypotheses, rather than definitively testing causal relationships. Meanwhile, a qualitative approach is used to provide a deeper understanding of the context and dynamics of the ideological integration under study.

A number of previous studies have examined various dimensions of the relationship between Islam and Pancasila. (Utomo et al., 2023), for example, examined the concept of the "Pancasila profile" implied in the Qur'an and its implications for the character formation of students, and found a substantive alignment between Qur'anic values and the principles of Pancasila. Meanwhile, (Fatihin, 2017) uses a comparative approach to examine the concept of social justice from the perspectives of the Qur'an and Pancasila, and demonstrates common ground regarding the distribution of justice and concern for vulnerable groups.

Another study was conducted by (Simangunsong et al., 2019), which examined the ideology of HMI cadres in the context of youth leadership development in the city of Medan, with an emphasis on how organizational values are implemented in leadership practices. Additionally, (Tamba et al., 2024) examines Pancasila as the foundation for social welfare policies in Indonesia, tracing the role of ideological values in the process of formulating public policy.

Although these studies have enriched the body of knowledge regarding the relationship between Islam and Pancasila, empirical studies exploring Muslim student activists' perceptions of this relationship remain relatively limited. Furthermore, research directly comparing the views of members of Islamic organizations with those of non-members has also been scarce. Therefore, this study aims to fill this gap through an exploratory empirical approach.

2. Method

2.1 Research Design

This study employs an exploratory *mixed-methods* design (Lee, 2019), which is widely used in social research to integrate the strengths of quantitative and qualitative approaches (Creswell & Creswell, 2017). Given the limited sample size (n=22), this study is

not intended to produce statistical generalizations, but rather to gain an initial understanding and formulate hypotheses for future research.

The quantitative approach in this study serves a descriptive function, where regression analysis is used only as an exploratory tool, not for testing inferential hypotheses. Meanwhile, the qualitative approach is utilized to provide depth of analysis and contextual understanding to complement and enrich the quantitative findings.

2.2 Population and Sampling Techniques

The population in this study consists of students in the Bangkalan region of Madura. This region was selected based on considerations of accessibility and the researcher's proximity to the study site.

Due to limitations in obtaining a complete *sampling frame* and logistical constraints in data collection, this study employed *non-probability sampling*, specifically *convenience sampling*. This method is commonly used in exploratory studies with limited access to the population (Etikan, 2016). Respondents were selected based on ease of access and willingness to participate in the study.

A total of 22 students were successfully recruited as respondents. The relatively small sample size and the unbalanced distribution between HMI members and non-members indicate that the sample is not yet fully representative of the general student population. Therefore, the results of this study are not intended for broad generalization but rather as an exploratory study to identify initial trends and formulate hypotheses for future research.

Table 1. Respondent Characteristics, 2025.

Characteristics	Category	N	Percentage
HMI Membership	Members	16	72.7%
	Non-members	6	27.3%
Gender	Male	17	77.3%
	Female	5	22.7%
University of Origin	Darussalam Islamic College, Bangkalan	12	54.5
	Other universities in Bangkalan	10	45.5

Source: Respondent Characteristics, 2025

The sample distribution indicates an imbalance between the number of HMI members (16 respondents) and non-members (6 respondents), thereby limiting the comparability between groups and requiring caution in interpreting the comparative results. Although a sample size of only 22 respondents is insufficient to produce strong statistical inferences, it is still acceptable in the context of exploratory research aimed at identifying initial patterns and formulating hypotheses for further research.

2.3 Data Collection and Data Analysis

The research data were collected using a structured questionnaire that combined closed-ended and open-ended questions. The closed-ended instrument was used to measure five dependent variables on a five-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree), namely:

- Y1: The level of importance of the Qur'an as a source of values ("The Qur'an is very important as a source of values in my life")
- Y2: Perception of harmony between the Qur'an and Pancasila ("The values of the Qur'an and Pancasila are in harmony with one another")

- Y3: Significance of the values of justice and unity ("Justice and unity are very important values for the nation")
- Y4: Belief in the possibility of synergy ("I believe that the Qur'an and Pancasila can be synergized in national life")

The independent variable (X) in this study is HMI membership status, coded dichotomously (0 = non-member, 1 = member). Meanwhile, open-ended questions were designed to explore respondents' views in greater depth, including:

- Quranic verses considered relevant to the values of Pancasila
- Challenges in integrating the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila
- Examples of the implementation of these values in daily life
- Recommendations for strengthening ideological integration

The research analysis process involves both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Quantitative analysis employs simple linear regression to explore the relationship between HMI membership and the dependent variable. Given the small sample size, the analysis results (*p-values* and R^2) are interpreted descriptively rather than for causal inference. Comparisons of means across groups are also presented to identify initial patterns that could serve as a basis for further research, in line with the exploratory approach in studies with limited samples (Wolcott et al., 2019). Meanwhile, the qualitative analysis employed a six-stage thematic analysis, encompassing data familiarization, *open coding*, theme development, review, definition, and reporting. The coding process was conducted independently by two researchers, then compared to enhance reliability and minimize bias, as recommended in consensus-based qualitative research (Braun & Clarke, 2022).

3. Results and Discussion

3.1. Quantitative Findings

This subsection presents quantitative findings on differences in perceptions between members and non-members of the Islamic Student Association (HMI) regarding the relationship between the Qur'an and Pancasila. The analysis was conducted by comparing mean scores, significance values (p-value), and coefficients of determination (R^2) across several research variables. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Comparison of Mean Scores Between HMI Members and Non-Members, 2025.

Dependent Variable	Mean for non-members (n=6)	Mean for Members (n=16)	Difference in Means	p-value	R^2
Y1: Importance of the Qur'an	3.79	4.31	+0.52	0.293	0.055
Y2: Alignment of the Qur'an and Pancasila	4.0	4.25	+0.25	0.479	0.025
Y3: Values of Justice & Unity	4.54	4.19	-0.35	0.435	0.031
Y4: Belief in Synergy	4.46	4.31	-0.15	0.675	0.009

Source: Mean Scores and Regression, 2025.

The regression analysis results indicate no statistically significant relationship between HMI membership and any of the dependent variables (all p-values > 0.05). The coefficients of determination (R^2) were also very low, ranging from 0.009 to 0.055, suggesting that

organizational membership explains only a small proportion of the variation in respondents' perceptions. Similar findings were also reported by Inglehart & Welzel (2010), who found that educational background and social environment play a more dominant role than organizational affiliation in shaping ideological orientation.

Descriptively, both groups showed relatively high means on all variables (M = 3.79–4.54 on a five-point scale), reflecting a strong level of acceptance of Qur'anic values and alignment with Pancasila. The differences in means between the groups were small (Δ = 0.15–0.52) and inconsistent in direction. HMI members tended to score slightly higher on the importance of the Qur'an and alignment with Pancasila, but slightly lower on justice, unity, and belief in synergy. Nevertheless, none of these differences were statistically significant, indicating a small effect size (Sullivan & Feinn, 2012).

Based on these findings, the study then focused on the values of justice and unity as representations of the principles of Pancasila. These two values were chosen because they have the clearest connection to the teachings of the Qur'an, particularly the concepts *of 'adl* (justice) and *ukhuwwah* (unity/brotherhood) (Salim, 2008). Furthermore, justice and unity are also frequently central themes in HMI's leadership training forums, making them relevant as indicators to measure respondents' perceptions. Overall, these findings indicate that HMI membership is not a significant predictor of respondents' ideological perceptions in this study's sample.

3.2. Interpretation of Quantitative Findings

The absence of significant differences can be understood through several possibilities. First, this reflects the strong influence of socio-cultural and educational factors in shaping students' ideological orientations, which surpasses the influence of organizational affiliation (Putnam, 2001). The institutionalization of Pancasila education, along with the strong internalization of Islamic values within the social environment, contributes to the formation of relatively homogeneous patterns of view. From a cultural sociology perspective, values internalized through primary socialization are more resistant to change than those shaped by membership in a formal organization (Norris & Inglehart, 2011).

Second, these findings may indicate the limited differentiating effect of the indoctrination process within HMI. Although normatively designed to integrate Islamic and national values, its impact may not be uniform or strong enough to produce significant differences in perception (Azra, 2004). Additionally, the possibility of self-selection mechanisms must be considered, where individuals joining HMI already share similar ideological tendencies from the outset. This phenomenon aligns with the concept of homophily in voluntary organizations, the tendency for individuals to join groups whose values align with their personal values.

Third, the high average scores in both groups indicate a low level of ideological polarization regarding the relationship between Islam and the state (Hefner, 2011). Conversely, these findings suggest a tendency toward convergence in understanding, emphasizing the harmony between the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila. In Indonesia's post-Reform era, the narrative of compatibility between Islam and democracy has gained traction among young urban Muslim intellectuals, who largely constitute the membership base of organizations such as HMI (Liddle & Mujani, 2007).

Fourth, methodological limitations must be noted. The small sample size (N = 22) and limitations of the measurement instruments have the potential to reduce statistical power and cause existing differences to go undetected as statistically significant (Type II error). Therefore, further research with a larger sample, a more comprehensive design, and

a mixed-methods approach that integrates qualitative data is needed to gain a deeper understanding (Rhoades et al., 2011).

3.3. Qualitative Findings

3.3.1. Substantive Integration, Not Formalistic

Most respondents emphasized that the relationship between the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila should be understood substantively rather than through a formalistic approach. The primary focus is not on efforts to formalize Islamic law within the state structure, but rather on aligning fundamental ethical values. This approach indicates that the values of the Qur'an are positioned as a source of moral and spiritual guidance, while Pancasila is understood as a national framework that translates universal Islamic values into the context of Indonesia's pluralistic and multicultural society (Lukito et al., 2022).

> *"The values of Pancasila are essentially already contained in the Qur'an. The principles of justice, consultation, and humanity are part of Islamic teachings. What is needed is not to make Indonesia an Islamic state, but how Islamic values can be implemented in state life."* (Respondent 8, HMI member)

> *"The Qur'an is indeed the foundation of values for Pancasila, but Pancasila serves to translate these universal values into the context of Indonesia's pluralistic society."* (Respondent 4, non-member).

> *"Harmony between the Qur'an and Pancasila can be achieved if both are understood contextually."* (Respondent 9, HMI member)

> *"The Qur'an and Pancasila have a mutually reinforcing relationship."* (Respondent 22, non-member)

A number of respondents also referred to specific verses in the Qur'an that are considered to reflect the values of Pancasila. Surah Al-Ikhlas is often associated with the first principle regarding the Oneness of God. Surah Al-Maidah verse 8, which emphasizes justice, is viewed as relevant to the second and fifth principles. Meanwhile, Surah Al-Hujurat verse 10, which affirms the importance of brotherhood, is linked to the third principle of Indonesia's unity. This trend indicates a process of contextualizing Islamic teachings within national life without the need to formally alter the state's foundational principles (Diniyanto & Sutrisno, 2022).

This substantive approach aligns with Kurdi's articulation of an inclusive and substantialist perspective on the relationship between Islam and the state (Kurdi, 2016). This perspective differs from the formalistic approach, which demands the explicit application of Islamic law within the state system. In this regard, respondents tend to reject the formalistic approach and emphasize value alignment over integration into institutional form.

3.3.2. Challenges in Ideological Integration

Respondents identified various obstacles to effectively integrating the values of the Qur'an with Pancasila in daily life. These challenges can be grouped into the following three main subthemes:

3.3.2.1. Generational limitations in understanding

> *"The younger generation's limited understanding of the Qur'an is a major challenge. Many have not read or studied its interpretations."* (Respondent 11, HMI member)

"There is a tendency for the younger generation's understanding of the Qur'an to be superficial." (Respondent 5, HMI member)

"There is a lack of deep understanding among young people regarding the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila." (Respondent 2, non-member)

"Most of the younger generation have not truly read or studied the interpretation of the Quran." (Respondent 11, HMI member)

Respondents assessed that meaningful integration between religious values and national ideology is difficult to achieve because engagement with religious texts and national values remains superficial. This phenomenon is viewed as a generational issue, indicating a decline in the depth of understanding compared to previous generations.

3.3.2.2. External ideological pressures

"Challenges come from various directions—both radicalism and liberalism—which both have the potential to undermine a balanced understanding of Islam and nationalism." (Respondent 14, HMI member)

"The dominance of practical political interests often triggers conflicts that do not reflect the fundamental values that should be upheld." (Respondent 16, non-member)

"The ongoing ideological conflict makes it seem as though we must compromise between the teachings of the Qur'an and the values of Pancasila." (Respondent 8, HMI member)

"The changing times, such as globalization and secularism, also present their own challenges." (Respondent 7, HMI member)

In this context, respondents position themselves between two problematic extremes: radicalism that rejects Pancasila in favour of establishing an Islamic state, and liberalism or secularism that tends to marginalize the role of religion in the public sphere. This moderate stance aligns with the concept of *wasatiyyah* in Islam, widely discussed in the global literature (Norris & Inglehart, 2011).

3.3.2.3. Limitations in the educational approach

"Limited understanding of religious values and Pancasila, as well as ineffective cross-ideological communication." (Respondent 20, HMI member)

"Limitations in time, resources, and level of understanding." (Respondent 3, HMI member, regarding the question about challenges)

"The younger generation's understanding of the Qur'an remains superficial." (Respondent 5, HMI member) — which, in this context, is perceived as a weakness in the educational process.

Values education is a primary instrument in character formation and ideological integration (Banks, 2019). The respondents implicitly criticized existing educational methods, deeming them unable to foster deep understanding. The emphasis on "understanding" rather than mere "exposure" suggests that the current learning approach tends to favor rote memorization or superficial mastery over the substantive, reflective internalization of values.

Values education is more effective when students are encouraged not only to acquire conceptual knowledge but also to experience, practice, and reflect upon values in their everyday interactions (Setiawan et al., 2025; Bukhori et al., 2026).

In the context of Islamic education in Indonesia, the implementation of these values is still largely superficial and textual, with greater emphasis on cognitive memorization than on actual practice in daily life. Consequently, the value of moderation has not been internalized in school culture, thereby fueling intolerance, violence, and narrow-minded fanaticism among students, ultimately hindering inclusive social integration (Chotimah et al., 2024).

3.3.3. Proposed Solutions Education, Media, and Cultural Approaches

Respondents put forward various constructive recommendations to strengthen ideological integration, emphasizing innovation in education and the use of cultural approaches.

"The use of media as a means of da'wah and education is very important." (Respondent 2, non-member)

"There needs to be a reinternalization of the HMI's National Development Plan (NDP) in responding to national challenges." (Respondent 3, HMI member)

"A cultural da'wah approach is an urgent necessity." (Respondent 13, HMI member)

"An inclusive, educational, and historically grounded approach is required." (Respondent 20, HMI member)

"Values must be realized in concrete programs." (Respondent 17, HMI member)

"Strengthening character and religious education needs to be improved." (Respondent 11, HMI member)

"Strengthening Islamic ideology and Pancasila through contextual da'wah." (Respondent 12, HMI member)

"Instilling values from an early age is very important." (Respondent 16, non-member)

"Upholding the values of honesty and trustworthiness as part of the Qur'an and Pancasila." (Respondent 19, HMI member)

From these various suggestions, several key patterns emerge. *First,* there is an awareness of the importance of moving beyond conventional teaching methods by utilizing media and technology to reach the younger generation more effectively. This aligns with findings that digital media plays a significant role in shaping the religious understanding of the younger generation (Campbell & Tsuria, 2022). *Second,* a cultural approach is viewed as a key strategy, namely by integrating values within the cultural context that is already alive in society, rather than through a coercive approach. *Third,* respondents emphasized the importance of concrete implementation through tangible programs rather than merely normative discourse. *Fourth,* early childhood education is seen as the primary foundation in the process of sustainable value internalization.

3.3.4. The Qur'an as a Foundation of Values, Pancasila as an Operational Framework

One consistent conceptual pattern emerging in respondents' answers is the understanding that the Qur'an serves as a fundamental source of values, while Pancasila is viewed as a relevant operational framework within the context of Indonesia's diverse society.

> *"It is undeniable that the Qur'an serves as the foundation of values for Pancasila."* (Respondent 4, non-member)

> *"Harmony between the Qur'an and Pancasila can be achieved if they are understood in context."* (Respondent 9, HMI member)

> *"The Qur'an and Pancasila have a mutually reinforcing relationship."* (Respondent 22, non-member)

> *"Continue to hold fast to the Qur'an and Pancasila as the foundation of life."* (Respondent 9, HMI member)

This understanding offers a middle ground in addressing potential tensions between religious and national commitments, by assigning them distinct yet complementary roles. The Qur'an is positioned as the primary source of values and ethical principles, while Pancasila functions as an instrument that translates these values into the framework of a pluralistic national life. Thus, respondents can remain committed to Islamic values while accepting Pancasila as a legitimate and relevant state ideology.

This conceptual pattern reflects a broader intellectual tradition in Indonesian Islamic thought, in which religious and national identity are understood as complementary rather than contradictory. Scholars such as Nurcholish Madjid have long argued that Islamic values do not require formal state institutionalization to remain socially meaningful; rather, they can operate effectively through the moral and ethical fabric of civic life (Majid, 1999). In this view, Pancasila is not a secular imposition upon Islamic identity, but a nationally agreed-upon framework through which universal Islamic principles such as justice (*'adl*), deliberation (*shura*), and human dignity (*karamah insaniyyah*) find their practical expression within Indonesia's pluralistic context (Salim, 2008) .

This layered understanding where the Qur'an supplies the normative foundation and Pancasila provides the operational architecture corresponds to what Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im has described as a "civic" rather than "theocratic" model of religious engagement with the state (An-Na'im, 2010). Rather than positioning Islamic law as the formal basis of governance, this model allows Islamic ethical values to inform public life through culture, education, and civic participation. The respondents' statements reflect an internalization of precisely this model, suggesting that for this cohort of Muslim students in Bangkalan, there is no perceived contradiction between being devout Muslims and loyal Indonesian citizens.

Furthermore, this pattern aligns with the concept of *maqashid al-shariah*, the higher objectives of Islamic law which prioritizes the protection of religion, life, intellect, lineage, and property (Auda, 2008). Pancasila, with its five principles encompassing belief in God, humanitarianism, national unity, deliberative democracy, and social justice, can be understood as a state-level embodiment of these higher objectives. Several Islamic scholars and Indonesian intellectuals have drawn this parallel explicitly, arguing that Pancasila, when properly implemented, fulfills rather than contradicts the spirit of Islamic governance (Wahid, 2026).

It is also worth noting that this understanding is not uniformly distributed across Indonesian Muslim society. The convergence observed among respondents in this study, both HMI members and non-members alike, may partly reflect the specific socio-educational environment of Bangkalan, Madura, where pesantren-influenced traditions of

moderate Islam remain influential (Bruinessen, 1995). This cultural context likely predisposes students toward a substantive rather than formalistic reading of Islamic political thought, reinforcing their openness to Pancasila as a legitimate national framework. Future studies should examine whether this convergence holds across different regions and institutional contexts, particularly in settings where more formalistic interpretations of Islam are prevalent.

3.4. Integration of Quantitative and Qualitative Findings

Qualitative findings provide explanations that reinforce the quantitative results, particularly regarding the absence of significant differences between member and non-member groups. Similarities in substantive understanding of the relationship between Islam and the state, as well as consistency in identifying challenges and solutions, serve as factors explaining the minimal variation based on organizational affiliation.

The consensus identified in the qualitative data namely, that the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila are compatible when understood substantively—aligns with the quantitative findings showing high and relatively uniform average scores across both groups. Both members and non-members alike emphasize the importance of Qur'anic values and their compatibility with Pancasila.

Furthermore, the qualitative data enriches the interpretation by showing that while organizational membership does not significantly differentiate perspectives, respondents still possess a complex and nuanced understanding of ideological integration. The emphasis on a substantive approach over a formalistic one, recognition of generational and methodological challenges, and a push for innovation in education provide a depth of analysis that cannot be fully captured through a quantitative approach.

Furthermore, qualitative findings indicate the existence of mechanisms that can explain patterns in the quantitative data. Shared socialization experiences—through mandatory Pancasila education, exposure to Islamic discourse in public spaces, and the influence of the family environment—likely shape a shared framework of understanding that transcends organizational affiliations. The emphasis on generational challenges widely felt by Indonesian students, regardless of organizational membership, further reinforces this interpretation.

On the other hand, references to the Basic Struggle Values (NDP) by some members indicate that HMI possesses an ideological framework with the potential to shape the worldview of its cadres. However, the level of internalization of these values is likely uneven, or their influence may be less prominent if the same substance is also obtained through other channels outside the organization.

4. Conclusion

The findings of this study indicate no substantial differences between HMI cadres and non-member students in their understanding of the relationship between the values of the Qur'an and Pancasila. Both groups generally demonstrated positive, relatively similar perceptions of the values of justice and unity reflected in the two frameworks. This suggests that membership in HMI is not the main factor influencing respondents' ideological perspectives. Instead, the understanding of the harmony between Qur'anic values and Pancasila appears to be shaped more broadly by shared educational, social, and cultural experiences. Therefore, the study reinforces the view that the values of justice and unity in Pancasila are widely accepted as compatible with Islamic teachings across different student backgrounds.

Meanwhile, the main obstacles to integrating Qur'anic values with Pancasila include limited understanding among the younger generation, external ideological pressures, and suboptimal educational approaches. To address these, HMI cadres emphasize the importance of strengthening contextual values education, utilizing digital media, reinternalizing the NDP, and adopting an inclusive cultural approach. Furthermore, the practical implementation and instillation of values from an early age are viewed as crucial steps toward strengthening sustainable ideological integration. This study is expected to provide preliminary evidence regarding Muslim students' perceptions of ideological integration and serve as a foundation for further research. Practically, these findings can serve as a reference for strengthening value-based curricula and developing more effective cadre training methods.

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